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Internal Migration and Immigrant Settlement



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PREFACE

This study presents measurements and some descriptive analysis of the volume, patterns and impacts of recent Canadian migration in its role as a prime determinant of population distribution.

The study saw its origin in work undertaken by the Department of Manpower and Immigration and other Government Departments to provide background information for an examination of national demographic objectives and policy.

It was felt that much of the information gathered might be of interest to a wider audience, and a decision was therefore made to prepare the report on migration for public distribution.

The preparation and publication of the report was carried out by the Department of Manpower and Immigration. However, it contains a major section based on material supplied by the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs which also provided important suggestions in the drafting of the document.

Extensive use is made in the report of previously unavailable data provided by Statistics Canada, but while Statistics Canada was in charge of the estimation of these data, the responsibility for their interpretation of course does not rest with that agency.

Finally, mention should be made of helpful comments and some technical input received from the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

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INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Importance of Population Distribution

For a number of problems on the Canadian scene, geographic distribution of the Canadian population has important implications.

For both national and local politics, for example, population distribution is relevant to the question of electoral representation.

From a social-political perspective, on the other hand, any redistribution of the population may affect the balance between the English and French speaking populations in Canada or national unity as a whole when some regions persistently gain relative population while others lose.

In addition, serious social consequences can result from overconcentration of the population in a limited number of urban centres.

In an economic context, the redistribution of people is generally regarded as a necessary consequence of, and a contributor to, changes in the patterns of economic activity. Long-run shifts in product demand, changes in resource availability, and technological developments in both production and transportation, may lead to changes in the regional labour demand patterns, thus acting as major determinants of population redistribution.

Indeed, some of the central issues in the Canadian economy today - regional income disparities, unemployment, urban congestion and economic growth - are closely related to the rate and direction of population redistribution.

Interest in questions of population distribution is therefore wide-spread, and knowledge of it is essential to formulate national policies such as manpower programs, regional development plans or controlled urban growth schemes that will deal with these problems.

1.2 Components of Population Redistribution

Adjustment by the population to differential changes in economic opportunities in different parts of the country could conceivably be brought about through varying rates of natural increase, internal migration, or foreign migration.

Indications are, however, that internal and foreign migration have tended to be the main mechanism of adjustment, while differential rates of natural increase have accounted only to a very limited degree for the redistribution of the population.¹

¹ Simon Kuznets and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Internal Migration and Economic Growth, Selected Studies of Migration Since World War II", Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1958, p. 200.

Furthermore, as determinants of population distribution, the role of the movement of people within Canada together with the arrival of people from abroad can be expected to be accentuated in the future; the tendency of provincial fertility rates has been to converge towards a low national average.

This latter perspective on migration is expressed in the recent Green Paper on immigration that states "future developments respecting population distribution and concentration can be expected to have a more immediate impact on the well-being of Canadians over the next few decades than will aggregate national population growth rates."¹

Of importance in this regard is the relationship between internal and foreign migration, specifically variation in: the direction of the two flows, their relative effects on the provinces and urban areas, and the forces governing their behaviour.²

1.3 Main Focuses of Migration Research

Fundamental to all migration issues is the need to know how many move, where they come from and move to, and when they move - in other words, the magnitude and direction of mobility.

¹ Immigration Policy Perspectives, Vol. 1 of a Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Manpower and Immigration, 1975 p. 8.

² Ibid., pp. 8-10.

After this has been ascertained, the study of migration can concentrate on the migrant population, the causes, and the effects of migration.

The present section comments briefly on these main focal points of migration, with reference to some recent pertinent Canadian studies;¹ section 1.4 outlines the specific purpose of this report.

1.3.1 HOW MANY, WHERE and WHEN

Information about the direction and volume of in- and out-migration generally refers to flows within urban areas, to and from urban areas, within provinces or between provinces.

A brief look at major historical mobility patterns indicates that short distance, intra-area moves always have made up the largest proportion of total mobility.² Up to the beginning of the twentieth

¹ For a recent and comprehensive review of Canadian migration research presented in a similar framework the reader may consult: Leroy O. Stone, "What We Know About Migration Within Canada - A Selective Review and Agenda for Future Research", Internal Migration Review, Vol. 8, Summer 1974, pp. 267-81. Another current and major review article is: Michael J. Greenwood, "Research on Internal Migration in the United States: A Survey", The Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. XIII, No. 2, June 1975, pp. 397-433.

² Stone, Op. cit.

century, migration had been primarily from rural areas to the cities of central Canada, and to the West. This trend of rural to urban flow continued during the first half of the twentieth century with the rapid growth of cities. Since the 1950s, however, this pattern has changed so that inter-urban and inter-metropolitan flows are now the most important characteristics of Canadian migration.

Although only a relatively small fraction of mobility takes place between provinces, research has concentrated to a large extent on inter-provincial flows. Over the past decade, the overall tendency has been for Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta to gain from migration.

Migration information increased significantly with the 1961 Census. The most comprehensive, detailed description and analysis of past Canadian migration patterns are contained in the four monographs published in connection with the 1961 Census.¹

The question of when migrants move has been thus far relatively unexplored, primarily due to a lack of time series for examining fluctuations.²

¹ M.V. George, Internal Migration in Canada: Demographic Analysis, DBS, Ottawa, Canada, 1970. Leroy O. Stone, Migration in Canada: Regional Aspects, DBS, Ottawa, Canada, 1969. Leroy O. Stone, Urban Development in Canada, DBS, Ottawa, Canada, 1967. Warren E. Kalback, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, DBS, Ottawa, Canada, 1970.

² J. Vanderkamp, "Interregional Mobility in Canada: A Study of the Time Pattern of Migration", Canadian Journal of Economics, Vol. 1, August 1968, pp. 596-608.

1.3.2 The Migrant Population

The concern here is to identify those population characteristics that appear to be associated with migration. Variables such as sex, age, marital status, education, occupation, employment status, ethnic background and language have been subjects of attention. A factual descriptive approach is generally followed, and the 1961 Census monographs are valuable sources of past information.

1.3.3 Why Migrants Move

Determining the causes of migration involves analysis of the motivations. The most common approach taken by economists is to view migration as an investment decision based on a comparison of benefits to costs from moving. The potential migrant is cast in the role of a decision-maker who will move when the expected benefits of moving exceed the anticipated costs. Often the benefits and costs of this approach are defined to include psychic as well as real components.

The basic theory of this decision-making is fundamental to a number of explanatory studies of migration. In terms of spatial mobility patterns and regional migration rate differentials, significant factors have been: income, employment opportunities, area population size, age, and distance.¹

¹ Leroy O. Stone, Migration in Canada: Some Regional Aspects, Op. cit. Thomas J. Courchene, "Interprovincial Migration and Economic Adjustment", Canadian Journal of Economics, III(4), Nov. 1970, pp. 550-576. John Vanderkamp, "Migration Flows, Their Determinants and the Effects of Return Migration", Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 79, Sept/Oct. 1971, pp. 1012-31. Gene Laber and Richard X. Chase, "Interprovincial Migration in Canada as Human Capital Decision", Journal of Political Economy, July/August 1971, pp. 795-804.

1.3.4 The Effects of Migration

At issue is the impact of migration on (i) the migrants themselves, (ii) the population in the sending region and (iii) the population in the receiving region.

The effect on the migrants is closely related to migration motivation previously discussed. The concern, however, is not with an explanation of the decision to move and the patterns of mobility, but rather with an analysis of the influence of migration on the welfare of the persons moving, on the region where they resided and on the region receiving them. Thus, resource allocation and economic adjustment is a crucial question.

Work in this important area has been relatively scant. As far as the economic impact on the migrants is concerned, the present report draws extensively on a very recent study by T. Courchene, while the effects of migration on the sending region have been analyzed with special reference to a study by J. Vanderkamp.¹

1.4 Purpose and Organization

The main purpose of this report is to make use of current data, which for the most part cannot readily be obtained elsewhere, by

¹ Thomas J. Courchene, Migration, Income and Employment: Canada, 1965-68, A Special Study of the C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1974. John Vanderkamp, "The Effect of Out-Migration on Regional Employment", Canadian Journal of Economics, III(4), Nov. 1970, pp. 541-49.

presenting measurements and descriptions of the volume, trends and patterns of migration in the recent past.

Migration encompasses internal as well as international flows. They are compared with each other and with a third component of area population change, natural increase. When these two flows are viewed in the broader context of overall population growth, insight is gained into the relative importance of each component.

A major part of this report, therefore, introduces and analyses new and up-to-date information.

Section 2 studies the provinces, examines the possible effects of in- and out-migration, and presents evidence that has attempted to compare Canadian and U.S. mobility rates. Section 3 reviews the main factors motivating migration, and discusses the impact of migration on the migrant in terms of income and employment. Section 4 analyses migration for 22 metropolitan areas, and gives a detailed examination of migration for Montréal and Toronto. Section 5 explores some of the regional demographic effects of a particular population projection.

1.5 Data Sources

Three main data sources are used to describe and examine migration.

1.5.1 Census Data

Since the Census is one of the most comprehensive sources of mobility information, Census data are used repeatedly, particularly migration data from the 1971 Census released only recently. Occasional reference is made to earlier Census years for comparative purposes.

Nonetheless, although the mobility information contained in the Census is plentiful and detailed, such information is also readily available elsewhere. The report therefore relies more heavily on two other data sources that had not been used previously in any direct form of migration analysis, but possessed some special advantages for such an analysis. Descriptions of these sources follow.

1.5.2 Data Compiled for Intercensal Population Estimates

To determine the approximate size of the Canadian aggregate and provincial population between Census counts, Statistics Canada's Population Estimates and Projection Division makes intercensal estimates of the annual components of population change - natural increase, internal migration and foreign migration.

These estimates consist of registered births and deaths for the period in question (see Statistics Canada publication 91-202). Immigration statistics are obtained from the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Emigration is estimated from data supplied by the United

States and the United Kingdom on Canadian immigrants, and an allowance is made for the emigration to other countries. Provincial emigration is estimated on the basis of the number of emigrants who have gone to the United States -- in the past a major proportion of all emigrants.¹

Estimates of interprovincial migration are based on notification of change of address of family allowance recipients.

The special advantage of these data is that they provide very up-to-date information (1973-74) and make it possible to place inter-provincial migration flows in perspective with other sources of provincial population change.

It must be strongly emphasized, however, that the migration estimates based on Family Allowance data are subject to some error of estimation because of the incomplete coverage of the sources. A statistical adjustment has been made by Statistics Canada for the coverage deficiency.

1.5.3 Data Based on Department of National Revenue Information

A third main source of information has been a data base of estimates for intercounty movement by sex and age group. This base was developed by the Regional and Urban Development Division of

¹ Three-fifths in 1971-72 and two-fifths in 1972-73, according to Statistics Canada Publication No. 91-202, Estimated Population by Sex and Age Group for Canada and Provinces, March 1973 and March 1974 issue. The proportion is likely to have been somewhat lower in 1973-74, however.

Statistics Canada from a data file supplied by the Department of National Revenue. This file contained information on those persons who have filed their personal income tax returns from different municipalities for two consecutive tax years.

The data refer to migration between counties (or census divisions) and therefore can be aggregated to show movements involving metropolitan areas; this allows an analysis of urban migration flows.

These estimates are not exact counts of movement between counties but indicators of relative directions and magnitudes of flows. Statistics Canada provides error estimates for the data. These error measures were calculated by comparing the actual 1971 census population with estimates from a previous population count, the migration estimates, and registered births and deaths.

While the errors in the gross flow estimates generally are acceptable, those in the net flows are often quite high. Thus, it is especially important not to interpret net migration data as precise counts.

Care has been taken throughout the report not to base important conclusions on information with unacceptably high error estimates.

1.6 Summary of Main Findings

1.6.1 Recent Trends, Patterns and Possible Effects of Interprovincial Migration

The 1971 Census shows well over 20 per cent of the population had a different municipality of residence five years earlier - 14 per cent within the same province, four per cent in a different province and another four per cent in a different country.

Three fairly distinct general patterns of provincial net migration are discernable on average for the recent five year period 1966-1970.

- (i) Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta experienced a net inflow of internal as well as foreign migrants, leading to a rapidly growing population in these provinces.
- (ii) A relatively small net inflow of foreign migrants and relatively large outflow of internal migrants in Manitoba, Quebec and Saskatchewan was largely responsible for the recent absolute decline in Saskatchewan's population and the slow growth in the populations of Québec and Manitoba.
- (iii) Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick experienced a net outflow of both international and interprovincial migrants.

It is of importance to note, however, that annual data show a tendency in most recent years for a reversal of the general past experience of net total migrant outflows for the maritime provinces and Manitoba, and absolute population decline for Saskatchewan.

Net migration is only a small proportion of gross migration. Over the period 1966-1970 the population gain or loss for a province through internal migration was on the average only about 25 per cent of the total number moving into or out of a province. For foreign migration too, the net number of migrants is considerably smaller than the total migrant inflow from abroad. This two-way migration flow is attributable, in part, to return migration. It is estimated than about 20 per cent of recent interprovincial out-migrants have returned to the provinces they had left.

Migration flows have been the main source of regional differences in population growth, for provinces and for urban centres, and thus the principal contributor to redistribution of the Canadian population.

Furthermore, since it is largely adults of working age who move, there is a tendency for provinces that have experienced net in-migration to have more people of working age.

There is some evidence that the rate of internal mobility is lower in Canada than the United States, although this in part may be offset by a higher rate of foreign migration for Canada than the U.S.

1.6.2 Characteristics of Migration Flows

Migrants tend to be relatively young (and for that reason predominantly single), and to have higher educational levels than non-migrants.

The unemployed show greater propensity to migrate than do the employed.

Inter-provincial migration is greater for low-income and high-income persons than for middle-income people.

Furthermore, there is some evidence that migrants on the average receive higher increases in income than non-migrants, but this is due to an increased number of weeks worked rather than to higher weekly wages.

1.6.3 Migration Involving Urban Areas

The rural to urban flow that dominated earlier migration is less significant today. Generally the present pattern is from small to medium, and from medium to larger urban centres.

Migration has tended to produce the most rapid growth in the largest cities. From 1966 to 1971 the rate of growth for urban centres with a population of 500,000 and over was nearly 18 per cent. The average rate of growth for all urban centres during this period was 11 per cent.

Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver absorbed 60 per cent of the total net migrants (foreign and internal) who migrated to the 22 largest urban centres between 1966 and 1971. However, of this 60 per cent, Montreal accounted for only nine per cent. Toronto and Montréal experienced a net outflow of internal migrants, but this was compensated by a heavy net inflow of foreign migrants; this was particularly marked in Toronto where 45 per cent of all foreign migrants to the largest urban centres were destined. It is important to note that out of the total number of net-internal migrants who left Toronto, the majority moved to areas that were adjacent to the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area. Thus, internal outflow has tended to contribute to the suburban sprawl of the city.

Other major centres that experienced significant growth from positive net-internal and foreign migration were Ottawa/Hull, Calgary, Edmonton, Québec City, Kitchener and London.

A net outflow of internal migrants, not compensated by strong net-foreign immigration, moderated the population growth of Halifax, St. John, Hamilton, Windsor, Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon. This group of cities only increased their share of the Canadian population from 8.1 to 8.3 per cent between 1961 and 1972; the combined share of Toronto and Vancouver rose from 15.0 to 17.2 per cent while that of Montréal remained stable at around 12.6 per cent.

1.6.4 Results of Regional Population Projection

The results of a regional population projection indicate that migration can be expected to play an increasingly important role in determining the Canadian provincial population distribution.

2. RECENT TRENDS, PATTERNS AND POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF
INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION

2.1 Almost Half of the Population Moved Between 1966 and 1971

The overall mobility of Canadians indeed is substantial.

Thus, the most recent Census shows that close to 50 per cent of the population five years of age and over (almost 10 million), had changed dwellings during the five-year period preceding the Census taking.

Large as it is, this figure nevertheless understates mobility: the population under five is excluded, those who died or left Canada before the census date are not counted, and the data reflect only a single move by persons who moved more than once.

However, not all moves are of interest for the present purposes. The concern here is not with the change of dwelling within a given municipality, but with longer-distance moves that may affect the distribution of the population among larger areas.

If migrants are defined as those persons whose municipality of residence in 1966 was different from that in 1971, then the migrant population amounts to 4.7 million or 24 per cent of the total population.

As Table 1 indicates, 2.8 million migrated among municipalities within the same province, about 850,000 changed province and 824,000 came from outside Canada.¹

1 279,000 did not state their previous province of residence.

TABLE 1
MIGRANTS AGED FIVE YEARS AND OVER,
BY PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE IN 1966 AND 1971

PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE IN 1971	PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE IN 1966										TOTAL (IN- MIGRATION)	PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1966	MIGRANT POPULATION NOT STATED	
	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yukon	N.W.T.		
NEWFOUNDLAND	-	225	2,380	1,140	2,145	6,295	215	185	425	20	140	13,585	55,590	4,935
PRINCE EDWARD IS.	340	-	1,975	1,310	755	3,060	400	95	185	350	10	-	8,470	5,315
NOVA SCOTIA	3,440	2,185	-	8,310	6,090	18,805	1,825	840	2,000	2,490	60	100	46,165	69,010
NEW BRUNSWICK	1,740	1,335	7,635	-	9,315	12,455	1,405	480	1,130	1,195	75	130	36,890	53,100
QUEBEC	2,235	635	4,350	7,905	-	48,370	4,630	515	3,305	4,740	90	220	77,985	835,750
C. LABRADOR	17,860	3,570	25,730	18,550	99,430	-	23,785	11,805	17,655	21,205	745	830	241,180	904,890
MANITOBA	680	265	1,655	1,355	4,330	18,245	-	16,365	7,190	6,310	120	375	56,900	97,895
SASKATCHEWAN	280	125	620	495	1,570	9,425	-	10,580	6,090	80	250	36,355	118,830	
ALBERTA	805	505	3,300	2,150	7,750	23,550	17,410	41,910	-	27,765	645	1,765	127,555	190,475
BRITISH COLUMBIA	1,453	600	6,075	3,115	16,740	47,395	26,910	29,920	58,915	-	1,960	1,105	194,195	340,065
YUKON	55	5	65	20	170	495	245	465	1,215	2,560	-	210	5,505	810
SOUTH WEST TERR.	105	30	160	145	400	1,115	545	805	2,225	1,050	175	6,705	1,455	925
TOTAL (OUT- MIGRATION)	28,985	9,470	53,935	44,505	148,705	186,625	86,800	104,395	104,825	74,160	3,365	5,136	851,495	2,766,185
													279,525	1,720,555

SOURCE: 1971 Census of Canada Cat. No. 92-719, Table 32.

- 18 -

Although many people may move into and out of a province or territory, it is the net outcome of the in- and outflows which determines migration's effect on an area's population.

When net flows are derived from Table 1, the net interprovincial migration pattern emerges as depicted in Chart 1. The three provinces of British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta had a net gain of internal migrants, whereas the remaining seven provinces had a net loss.

Interprovincial moves are only one form of migration influencing a province's population; the other form is foreign migration. The Census does not provide net figures for foreign migration.¹ To obtain information about both net internal and net foreign migration to the provinces, we have referred to Statistics Canada's annual population estimates.

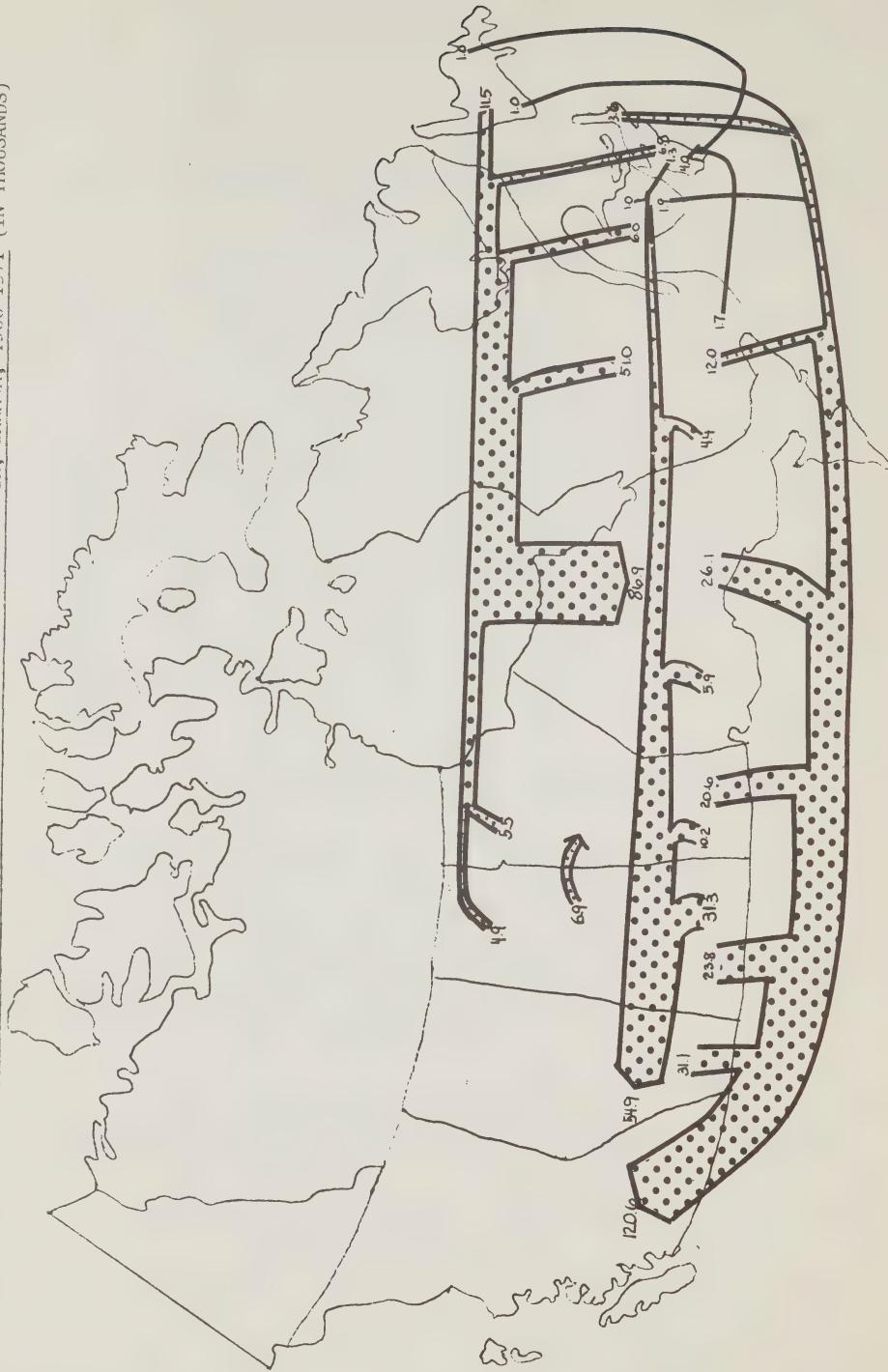
2.2 Three Distinct Migration Patterns Can Be Discerned

As previously mentioned in section 1.2 on data sources, Statistics Canada produces data on annual provincial population changes. Annual averages of the data components of population change for the period 1966/67 to 1970/71 indicate that on average about 435,000 persons

¹ Neither does the Census give data on out-migration from Canada to other countries but only figures on gross immigration from abroad.

CHART 1

NET MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN PROVINCES, POPULATION 5 YEARS OLD AND OVER, CANADA, 1966-1971 (IN THOUSANDS)



NOTE: Figures under 1,000 are not shown.

Source: 1971 Census

changed their province of residence each year.¹ During the same period, an annual average of 178,000 foreign immigrants arrived in Canada and approximately 63,000 persons left the country. Some 218,000 were added to the Canadian population due to natural increase - the excess of births over deaths.

As illustrated in Table 2, these statistics for the individual provinces show three distinct overall migration patterns:²

- (i) Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta experienced a net inflow of both internal and foreign migrants, as did Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
- (ii) there was a net inflow of foreign migrants, but outflow of internal migrants for Québec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan;

1 It must be underscored that it is impossible to compare the magnitudes of the migration figures used in this section to those based on the Census, which were referred to. The main reasons for such non-comparability are:

- i) The present estimates include, while Census data exclude, the population under five years of age.
- ii) The present estimates, made annually, reflect some (unknown) portion of the multiple and return moves not reflected in the Census five-year migration statistics.
- iii) As a variant of multiple migration, foreign immigrants who subsequently move interprovincially, may in one year be counted as international migrants and the following year as internal migrants.

2 Some deviations from this general pattern will be noted for 1973 and 1974 in section 2.5.

(iii) Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had net outflows of interprovincial as well as international migrants.

To a large degree, there is a correlation between net foreign migration and net internal migration; a province that loses migrants to other provinces is also likely to experience a loss in foreign migrants, and vice versa. This is to be expected since domestic and international migrant flows tend to have the same causal factors

2.3 Varying Influence by Internal and Foreign Migration on Provincial Population Change

Although there is a direct correlation between the net flows of internal and foreign migration, Table 2 also indicates that these two forms of migration can vary in their relative contribution to provincial population changes.

Although Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta all experienced net inflows of both internal and foreign migrants, within this common pattern the experience of each of the provinces was quite different. In Ontario, and in particular British Columbia, the sum of the two net migrant inflows exceeded the provincial population growth attributable to natural increase. In the case of British Columbia, however, the total net migrant inflow was dominated by internal migrants; in the case of Ontario, foreign immigration was dominant. The same prevalence

TABLE 2

COMPONENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

Average Annual Contribution to Provincial Population Change of Internal
Migration, Foreign Migration and Natural Increase, 1966/67 - 1970/71

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	International Immigration	Emigration	In-Migration	Interprovincial Out-Migration	Net International Migration	Net Interprovincial Migration	Natural Increase
Ontario	94,900	24,300	127,800	102,300	+ 70,600	+ 25,500	74,500
B.C.	23,300	5,200	86,200	56,600	+ 18,100	+ 29,600	17,600
Alberta	12,000	3,200	59,500	55,600	+ 8,800	+ 3,900	21,100
Yuk. & N.W.T.	200	100	4,600	4,000	+ 100	+ 600	1,300
Quebec	33,300	19,300	43,500	65,500	+ 14,000	- 22,000	57,700
Manitoba	7,100	2,000	32,200	42,500	+ 5,100	- 10,300	9,900
Saskatchewan	2,900	2,100	25,000	41,700	+ 800	- 16,700	10,200
Newfoundland	800	1,800	7,800	10,600	- 1,000	- 2,800	9,800
P.E.I.	200	300	3,900	4,400	- 100	- 500	1,000
Nova Scotia	2,100	2,300	24,900	29,600	- 200	- 4,700	7,500
New Brunswick	1,200	2,700	19,700	22,300	- 1,500	- 2,600	7,000
Total	178,000	63,300	435,100	435,300	+114,700	0	217,600

SOURCE: Special Tabulations by Statistics Canada's Population Estimates and Projections Section.

of foreign over internal migration existed for Alberta, but in contrast with Ontario and British Columbia, the combined effect of the two net migration inflows is relatively small, when compared to the province's natural population increase.

Some divergence in the pattern of overall influence is evident for the provinces experiencing a mixture of positive, net foreign migration and negative net internal migration. In the cases of Québec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, net interprovincial out migration is dominant, but only in Saskatchewan by so much that net total out-migration actually exceeds the natural increase to give a population which is declining in absolute magnitude.

Interprovincial migration is of greater relative importance in all four instances where both net internal and net foreign migrant flows are negative, but natural increase far exceeds the combined outflows.

2.4 Net Migration Is A Small Proportion of Gross Migration

While it is net migration which is of importance for population re-distribution, it is of interest to note how much gross migration takes place for the given amount of net migration to result.

Again with reference to Table 2, net interprovincial in-migration as a per cent of gross interprovincial in-migration ranged from 7 per cent in the case of Alberta to 34 per cent for British Columbia,

while net internal out-migration as a proportion of gross internal out-migration ranged from 11 per cent in Prince Edward Island to 40 per cent in Saskatchewan.

Similarly, net foreign migrants constituted only 64 per cent on the average of the gross inflow from abroad for the five-year period in question, although once again with great variation from province to province.

2.5 The Components of Recent Annual Provincial Population Growth

Tables 1 and 2 provide an overview of average recent patterns of provincial population growth. In order to better understand current developments the annual provincial components of population change were examined, especially with a view to comparing migration to the other sources of growth.

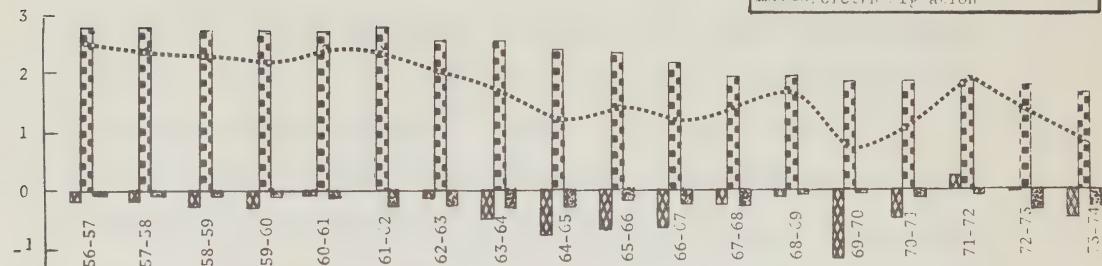
Chart 2, for the period 1956/57 to 1973/74 shows the provincial rate of total population growth as well as the growth rate due to: (1) natural increase, (2) net interprovincial migration and (3) net foreign migration.

As an example, total population growth in Nova Scotia during the year 1956-57 was 0.7 per cent (indicated by the stippled line). This total growth was the sum of a -1.3 per cent population decline due to net out-migration to other provinces (left hand bar), a +1.9 per cent rise due to natural increase (center bar), and a +0.1 per cent increase attributable to net foreign migrant inflow (right hand bar).

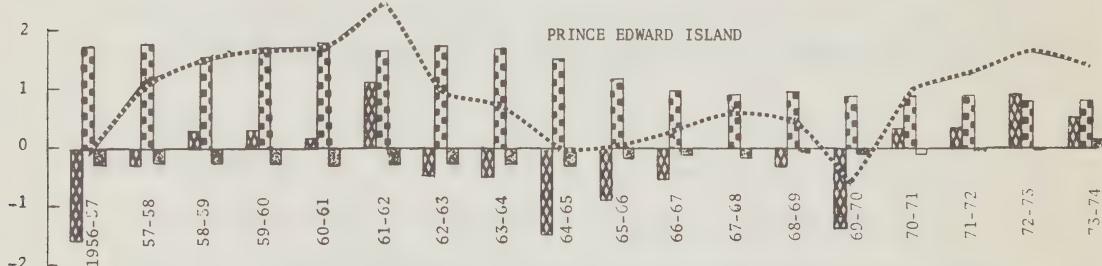
CHART 2
ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH AND ITS COMPONENT PARTS,
BY PROVINCE, 1956/57 - 1973-74

NEWFOUNDLAND

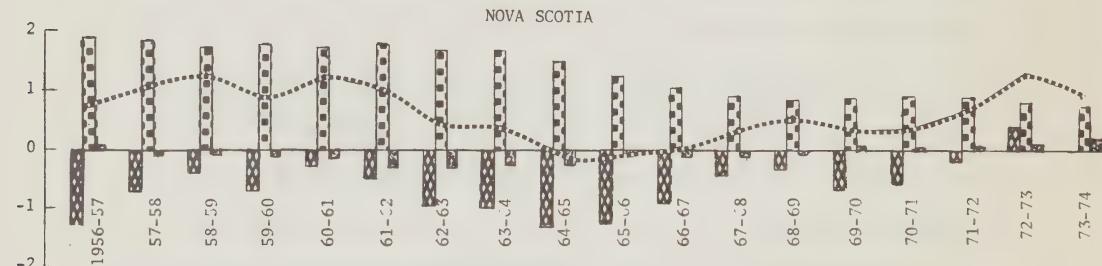
.....	Per cent change in population
=====	Internal Migration
■■■■■	Natural Increase
██████████	Foreign Migration



PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND



NOVA SCOTIA



NEW BRUNSWICK

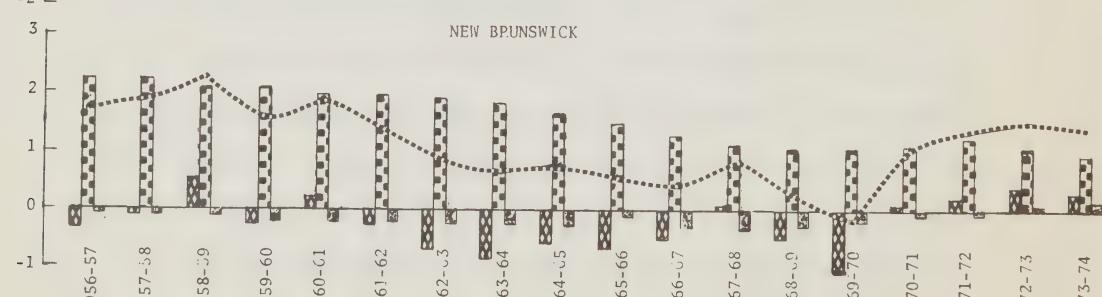


CHART 2 (Continued)
ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH AND ITS COMPONENT PARTS,
BY PROVINCE, 1956/57 - 1973-74

..... Per cent change in population
===== Internal Migration
■■■■ National Increase
==== Foreign Migration

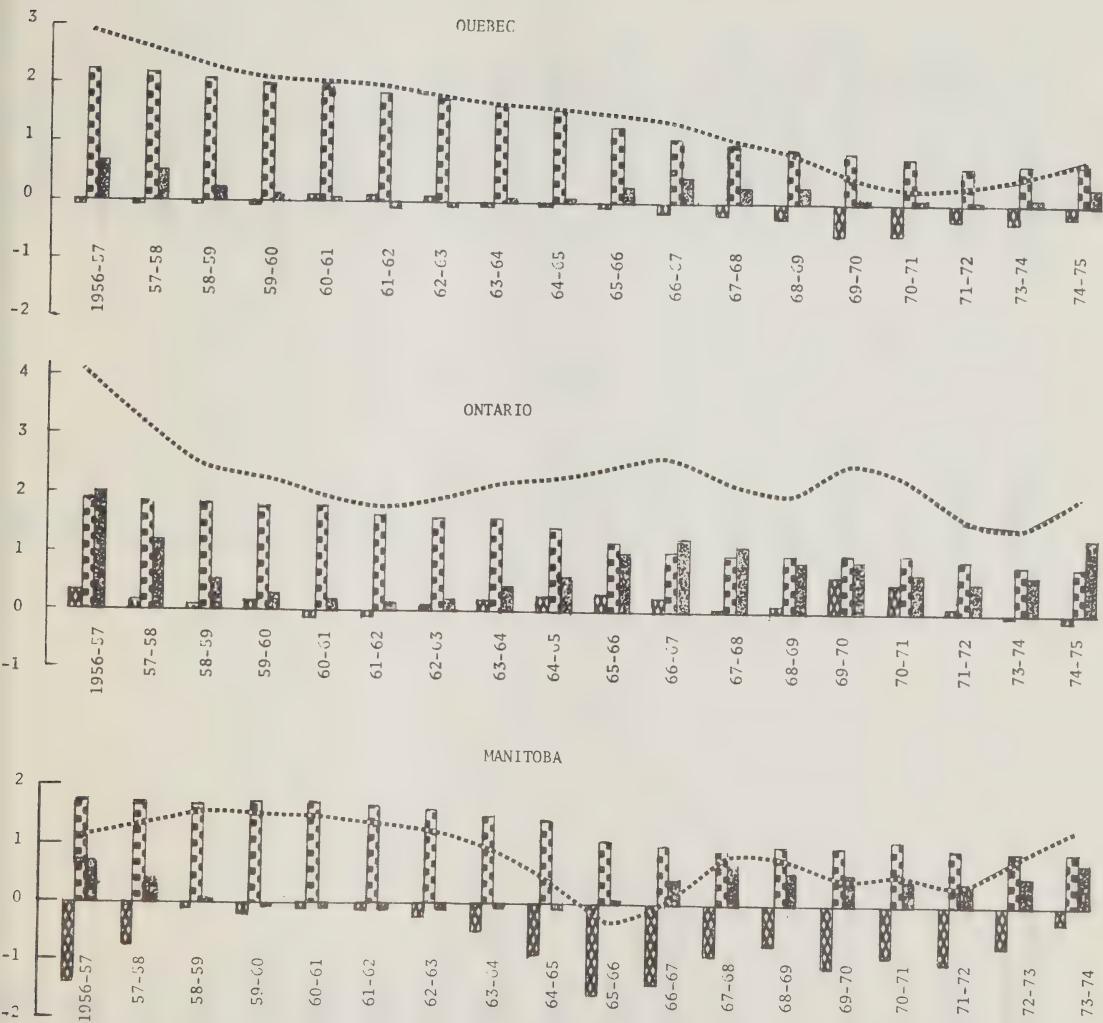
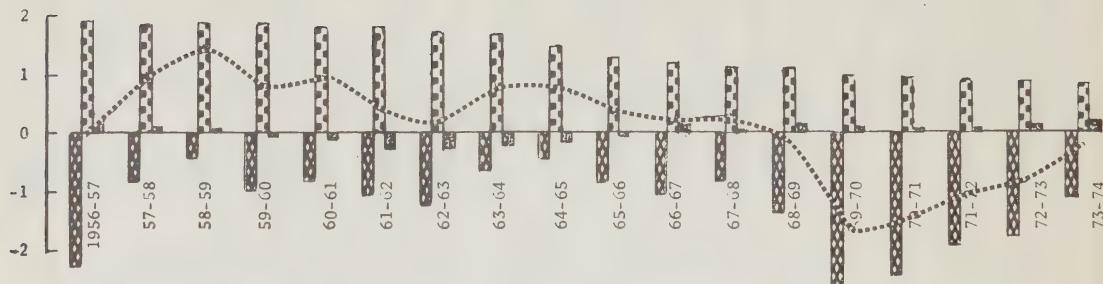


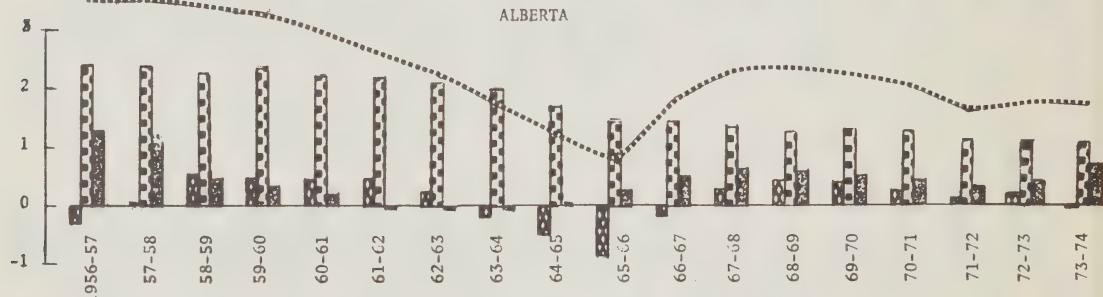
CHART 2 (Continued)
ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH AND ITS COMPONENT PARTS,
BY PROVINCE, 1956/57 - 1973-74

..... Per cent change in population
===== Internal Migration
■■■■■ National Increase
==== Foreign Migration

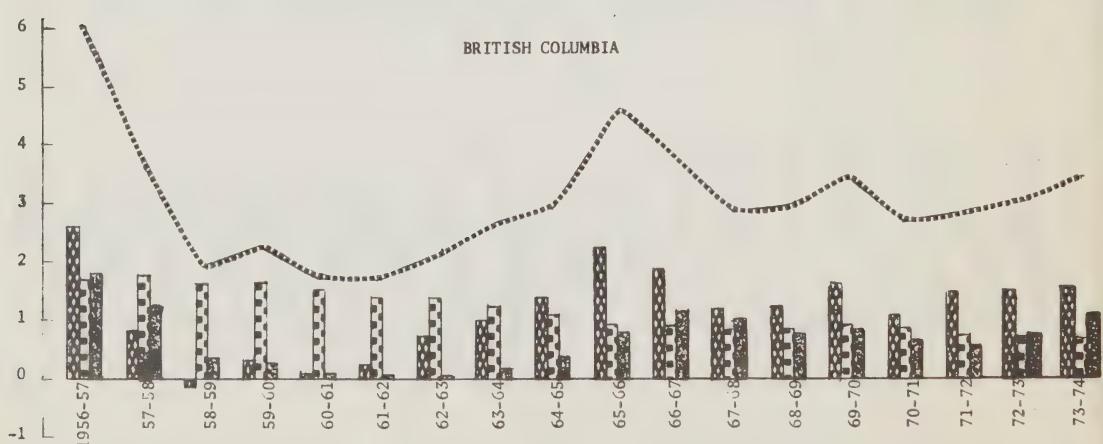
SASKATCHEWAN



ALBERTA



BRITISH COLUMBIA



Source: Special Tabulations by Population Estimates and Projections Division, Statistics Canada.

Two factors can be noted from the Chart -- a natural increase in population growth has been reasonably stable, though declining; and total growth (the stippled line) for all provinces has fluctuated in response to changes in both internal and foreign migration. Due to net migration outflows, some provinces have consistently had considerably smaller population growth than their rates of natural increase (excess of births over deaths). By and large, this has been true of the Maritimes, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and in recent years, Québec. In Québec, an especially sharp decline in the rate of natural increase, coupled with a significant rate of net out-migration to other provinces and a low rate of increase of foreign migrants led to a virtually stable population. The growth rate was less than 0.5 per cent per year between 1969-70 and 1972-73, although a slight upswing occurred during 1973-74 due to a higher rate of foreign in-migration.

It is important to note that in the most recent years the Maritime provinces have seen a reversal of their pervasive past tendency of net total (sum of internal and foreign) migrant outflows. Thus, Prince Edward Island has experienced net inflows since 1971, New Brunswick since 1972 and Nova Scotia since 1973. It is too early to speculate, however, whether these changes are merely temporary or whether they signal a persistent new migration pattern for these provinces.

The case of Saskatchewan is of special importance; the heavy rate of internal migration to other provinces has for the past six

years exceeded the increase in natural growth plus a slight positive rate of net foreign in-migration. The result has been an absolute decline in the province's estimated population from 968,000 in 1968 to 907,000 in 1974, but with a recent moderation in the decrease.¹

Over the entire 18-year period (1956-1974), Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta have consistently experienced rapid population growth. This growth has been in excess of the rate of natural increase due to substantial net migrant inflows (see Chart 2).

In Ontario, the population growth has in most years been from the inflow of foreign immigrants, although the rate of interprovincial in-migration has been relatively low, indeed slightly negative for the past two years.²

Since 1967, both internal and foreign net migrant flows to Alberta have been positive, the latter being of relatively greater importance. In British Columbia the net inflow of migrants from other provinces has consistently been of overriding importance, though foreign migration has also been a significant factor to the province's total population growth.

1 Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 91-201, Estimated Population of Canada by Province, August 1974 and Cat. No. 91-512, Population 1921-1971.

2 The reader should be cautioned that low rates of migration in the case of populous provinces still can refer to absolute migrant flows which are considerably greater than the absolute flows underlying high rates of migration in the case of provinces with small populations.

2.6 Similarity in Provincial Direction of Internal and Foreign Migration Flows

The three basic provincial migration patterns hold quite consistently from year to year (see Chart 2). These patterns were described in section 2.2.

In Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, net foreign and net interprovincial migration were both predominantly negative. They were of opposite sign only one year out of 18 for Newfoundland, seven years out of 18 for Prince Edward Island and five years out of 18 for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The two migration flows have both been primarily positive in the case of Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, and of opposite sign one year out of 18 for British Columbia, four years out of 18 for Ontario and seven years out of 18 for Alberta.

Finally, net foreign migration has been generally positive, and net interprovincial migration negative for Québec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. However, the two migratory flows were in the same direction once in Québec, six times in Manitoba and seven times in Saskatchewan out of the 18 years observed (see Chart 2).

2.7 Canadian Population Has Been Redistributed Through Migration

The most direct impact of migration movements has been on the relative size of provinces. As Table 3 shows, the pattern over the past quarter of a century has been one of continued decrease for the Maritime provinces, Quebec and in particular Manitoba and Saskatchewan with the combined share of the latter two falling from 14.1 percent in 1941 to 8.5 in 1974. Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta, on the other hand, saw their shares of the total population fairly consistently rise over the twenty-four year period, most dramatically so in the case of Ontario and British Columbia.

The acceleration of the decline in Québec's population share is especially noteworthy; it decreased by an average of .01 percentage points per year between 1951 and 1961, .09 between 1961 and 1971, and .21 for the 1971 to 1974 period.

At the same time that the relative population of British Columbia has been increasing at an accelerating rate, the previous rate of decrease for the Maritime provinces virtually came to a halt between 1971 and 1974.

2.8 More People of Working Age in Provinces of Net In-Migration

Interprovincial migrants tend to be concentrated mainly in the age category 20-44 years and to a lesser extent under nine years of age. Thus, it is working adults and their young children who move.

Table 3 - Percentage Distribution of Population, By Province, 1941-1974

Province or territory	1941	1951	1961	1971	1974
Newfoundland	2.58	2.51	2.42	2.41
Prince Edward Island	0.83	0.70	0.57	0.52	0.52
Nova Scotia	5.02	4.59	4.04	3.65	3.62
New Brunswick	3.98	3.68	3.28	2.94	2.95
Quebec	28.95	28.95	28.84	27.95	27.33
Ontario	32.91	32.81	34.20	35.72	36.05
Manitoba	6.34	5.54	5.05	4.58	4.50
Saskatchewan	7.79	5.94	5.07	4.29	4.04
Alberta	6.92	6.71	7.30	7.55	7.64
British Columbia	7.11	8.32	8.93	10.13	10.67
Yukon & N.W.T.	0.15	0.18	0.21	0.25	0.25
Canada	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 91-512, Population 1921-1971 and
Cat. No. 91-201, Estimated Population of Canada by Province.

One can define the working-age ratio as the percentage of the population 15-64 years of age. This ratio for internal migrants is higher than for the total population. The result is a lower working-age ratio for the remaining population in the provinces with a net deficit for internal migration, and a higher ratio in the provinces with net migrant gains.

In Ontario, British Columbia and to some extent Alberta, this pattern, as illustrated in Table 4, shows that a greater proportion of the population is between 15 and 64 years of age than in most of the provinces that have had net internal out-migration -- Saskatchewan, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Table 4

Per Cent of Population of Working Age (15-64),
June 1, 1972

NFLD.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	CAN.
57.3	58.1	60.9	60.1	67.4	63.4	61.9	60.0	61.8	63.4	62.9

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 91-201, Estimated Population by Sex and Age Group, for Canada and Provinces, June 1, 1972.

Foreign migrants are similarly concentrated in the early working age years and therefore accentuate the lowering of the working age ratio in provinces of net foreign out-migration, and raising it in provinces with net immigrant inflows.¹

2.9 Migration and Level of Education

A marked association between education and mobility is demonstrated in Table 5. The data are based on the 1971 Census for the population 15 years and over, according to level of education achieved and migration status.

Movers tend to have higher educational levels than non-movers. Furthermore, those migrating longer distances tend to have higher average education than shorter distance movers. Thus, those with university education accounted for nine per cent of intra-municipal movers and 19 per cent of interprovincial migrants between 1966 and 1971.

This pattern is in part due to the result of the age selectivity of migration described previously; the younger, more mobile age groups have higher average educational levels than the older groups.

1 It should be kept in mind that differential rates of natural increase also will affect the age distributions of the provinces' populations. For example, the especially sharp decline in Quebec's birth rate may have contributed to its relatively high working-age ratio in 1972, while a continued high rate of natural increase helped to lower Newfoundland's working-age ratio.

The expectation is that such a concentration will have an adverse effect on the educational distribution of the remaining population in the provinces of net out-migration and a concomitant beneficial effect in the other provinces.¹

Table 5

Relationship Between Level of Schooling
and Mobility Behaviour*

Level of Schooling Achieved	Non- Movers %	MOVERS		
		Same Municipality %	Diff. Municipality Same Province %	Different Province %
Elementary	41.2	35.6	27.0	18.0
Secondary	51.0	55.4	59.5	63.0
University	7.8	9.1	13.6	19.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* (Change of residence between 1966 and 1971 for population 15 years and over not attending school full-time).

SOURCE: 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-745, Table 16.

1 Somewhat differing evidence in this regard is given by data based on supplementary questions to the January 1966 Labour Force Survey, which determined the respondents' level of education and the province in which it was obtained. The data show that over time there has been a net outflow of persons educated in the Atlantic and Prairie provinces to other provinces, but these net outflow were relatively greater for the low education levels. Correspondingly, the net inflows in the case of Ontario and particularly British Columbia were both in absolute and relative terms much more important in the low than high educational categories. Educational Attainment in Canada: Some Regional and Social Aspects, D.B.S. Cat. No. 71-512, Special Labour Force Study No. 7, Oct. 1968, Table 7, p.14 Note that mobility in table 5 refers to gross flows.

2.10 Migration may Decrease Inequalities in Provincial Unemployment Rates

The general presumption has usually been that out-migration benefits a lagging region by acting as an outlet for surplus labour. The implicit assumption is that migration, by removing labour from regions where unemployment is relatively high, will tend to decrease an important aspect of regional disparity -- unequal unemployment rates.

There has been some tendency for net interprovincial migration to be from provinces with unemployment rates higher than the national average (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Québec) to provinces with lower than average unemployment rates (Ontario and Alberta).

The pattern is not entirely consistent, however, since Manitoba and Saskatchewan with very low overall unemployment rates experienced net out-migration, while British Columbia had a heavy net inflow despite its higher than average unemployment rates.¹

¹ The failure of unemployment rates as a consistent explainer of migration has been found in many studies. For a recent review of the problem see Michael J. Greenwood, "Research on Internal Migration in the United States: A Survey", Journal of Economic Literature, Vol. XIII, No. 20, June 1975.

2.11 Out-Migration from a Region may also have some Adverse Effect on the Level of Employment in that Region

The consequence of the situation discussed in section 2.10 should be fuller utilization of remaining manpower resources in the regions of net out-migration; however, there is some evidence that this is not the case.

A person maintains a certain level of living expenditures, whether from employment earnings or from income financed by transfer payments, such as unemployment insurance. When the person moves, he takes these expenditures with him. The result is a decline in the aggregate demand in the region with a reduced demand for labour -- decreased employment or additional unemployment. Variables to be considered are the size of the regional multipliers and the level of expenditures by the person who moves.

Out-migration, which may occur in response to unemployment conditions, can also be a cause of unemployment. A recent study^{1/} pertaining to the Maritime provinces showed that for every five unemployed persons who leave the region, two additional individuals in the region become unemployed as a result. Thus, unemployment is reduced only by three, and not by five persons.^{2/}

1/ John Vanderkamp, "The Effect of Out-Migration on Regional Employment", *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, 11(4), November 1970, pp. 541-519.

2/ Furthermore, the absolute level of employment, i.e. size of the area economy, is reduced, and the region of outmigration may, as already mentioned, suffer loss of skill and working-age population.

2.12 Mobility in Canada appears
to be lower than in the U.S.

From the data examined, it would appear that Canadian migration flows are of considerable magnitude. However, to gauge if Canadians are mobile, it is necessary to compare the country's migration to some relevant point of reference. Table 6 presents census mobility rates for Canada and the United States.

As mentioned in section 2.1 census mobility is defined as changes in residence for those persons five years of age and older, within five-year time intervals. To allow for different population size in the two countries, mobility is expressed in percentages of the total population at the end of each five-year period.

For both time periods, the mobility rates for Canadians were lower than the corresponding rates for the U.S., implying that the proportion of the population changing residence was larger in the U.S. than in Canada. Specifically, the U.S. interstate mobility rates are more than twice the interprovincial mobility rates in Canada. However, interprovincial migration in Canada constitutes only a small proportion of the total changes in residence or of movements between municipalities. Mobility from abroad, on the other hand, is between two and three times greater in Canada than in the United States.¹ It has been suggested

¹ The difficulties with regard to relevant areas in making such a comparison are discussed below.

Table 6

Five-year Mobility Rates* for Canada and the United States

	CANADA		UNITED STATES	
	1956-61	1966-71	1955-60	1965-70
Total Movers within country				
All changes of residence	42.4	41.9	47.3	45.6
Between municipalities or counties	17.2	18.5	17.4 counties	22.3 counties
Between provinces or states	3.4	4.3	8.9 states	8.6 states
From abroad	3.1	4.2	1.3	1.4

* Percentage of Population having different residence at the end as compared to the beginning of the period.

SOURCES: Census of Canada 1961 and 1971
United States Census 1960 and 1970

that internal mobility, interprovincial in particular, may have been less necessary in Canada than in the U.S. due to the proportionately larger inflow of immigrants from abroad.¹ The argument is that in Canada, this latter flow may in greater part than in the U.S., have brought about the geographic adjustments necessitated by changes in the labour market.

A comparison of mobility rates in the two countries has also been carried out based on different data sets.² Using migration data for the Canadian work force covered by Unemployment Insurance, and U.S. wage and salary workers covered under the OASDI (Old Age Security, Disability, and Health Insurance) program, it was found that the inter-regional mobility rate for the U.S. (divided into nine major regions) was 4.1 per cent for 1957-58, and 7.2 per cent over the three years 1957-60. In Canada, the labour force mobility rate between provinces was 2.7 per cent for 1965-66, 2.8 per cent for 1966-67, and 2.4 per cent for 1967-68. This evidence therefore supports the indication based on census data that Canadian mobility rates for long distance moves are lower than the rate of the U.S.

1 John Vanderkamp, Mobility Behaviour in the Canadian Labour Force, Special Study No. 16, Economic Council of Canada, Feb. 1973, pp. 17-19.

2 John Vanderkamp, Op.cit. Although this comparison perhaps is more relevant, the two data sets unfortunately are quite far apart in time.

Comparison of mobility for the two countries should be viewed with some caution due to differences of definition and coverage; the greater the number of regions considered, the higher the mobility rates will be. This is clear from Table 6 (above); movements between municipalities (counties) far exceed the movements between provinces (states) -- the larger the regions, the more the moves are internal to them. Thus, when comparing interprovincial Canadian labour force mobility to mobility among nine regions in the U.S., one realizes the latter regions are far broader in size than the Canadian provinces. This means that the U.S. mobility rates may be understated, lending even more support to the contention that relative internal mobility in the U.S. exceeds Canadian mobility. One can conclude that comparisons are difficult to make. Do the regions of both countries truly correspond and can relative population or total land areas be reflected in a comparison? The question then is whether a comparison of data for the Canadian provinces and the states can be valid.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS AND CAUSAL FACTORS OF MIGRATION

3.1 Age-Selectivity of Migration

As mentioned previously, migration is age-selective. The most recent census showed about 40 per cent of all interprovincial migrants during 1966-1971 were in the most mobile group, age 20-34 years, compared with 19 per cent of non-migrants in this age group.¹ Only 15 per cent of the migrants were aged 45 or over, compared with 30 per cent of non-migrants.

3.2 Mobility of Females Increasing

Overall migration rates for females have increased probably due to their growing participation in the labour market. Although these rates are now almost equivalent to the rates for males, males tend to constitute a higher proportion of migrants moving greater distances.²

¹ Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. 92-719, Table 31.

² According to the 1971 Census 104.9 males per 100 females were classified as migrants from a different province. Ibid. Table 31.

3.3. Marital Status of Migrants

Migrants tend to be young, thus single persons are considerably more mobile than married persons, both in interprovincial and intraprovincial movement. Young single males are more mobile interprovincially but less mobile intraprovincially than married males. It can then be concluded that for long-distance moves the young are very mobile, irrespective of marital status.

3.4 Rural-to-Urban Migration not as Important as in Past Years

Although rural-to-urban migration has historically constituted a major portion of Canadian internal migration,¹ in recent years this migration has been exceeded by urban-to-urban streams. For the out-migrants from rural farm areas, there was a fairly pronounced tendency to go to rural non-farm areas, perhaps near urban areas.

3.5 Higher Education Levels

The relationship between education and mobility has been discussed (see Section 2.9). Migrants tend to have higher educational levels than persons who do not move, and migrants moving long distances

¹ Leroy O. Stone, Migration in Canada, Regional Aspects, 1961 Census Monograph, D.B.S., Ottawa, 1969, Chapter 2, and 1971 Census of Canada.

tend to have higher average education than other migrants, this may be due to many factors:

- knowledge of job opportunities in other areas;
- national and international advertisements by employers seeking highly skilled personnel;
- fewer choices of location for specialists, perhaps only larger urban centres, requiring migration from other areas.

Insofar as higher education is associated with higher income, a person with higher education can probably better finance a move, with a decreased risk of becoming unemployed after the move. A change of occupation is often more easily accomplished by the better educated (and the young).

3.6 Economic Conditions as the Main Causal Factor of Migration

There is substantial agreement that economic factors are a major influence in inducing people to migrate from one area to another. Migration movements are generally towards areas with lower unemployment, higher incomes and a wider variety of job opportunities, and away from the areas with opposite characteristics. There has also been a tendency to move towards larger urban areas that offer stores, service facilities, recreational activities, and a general atmosphere of "where it's at", in addition to the economic advantages of better job opportunities.

3.7 Income Affects Decision to Move

There is a high correlation between mobility and income differentials among provinces with net migration flows consistently in the direction of higher income areas and away from poorer areas; however, it is not clear whether this tendency is the result of the pull toward better opportunities in the rich provinces (pull hypothesis) or a push due to lack of opportunities in the lagging parts of the country (push hypothesis).

There is evidence in the literature to suggest that inter-provincial migration is greater for low income persons than for the middle-income category,¹ and greater for high-income persons than for the middle-income group. Migration rates are thus found to exhibit a u-shaped behaviour, as we move along the income spectrum of the migrants.

But an analysis of these rates, cross-classified by age and income level, reveals that age is a far more important determinant of migration than income. This is to be expected since young people are more likely to respond to an income differential among provinces that will affect their earnings over a much longer period of time, than persons 40 years of age and over for example. The returns from migration tend to decline with age.

¹ T. Couchene, Migration, Employment and Income, C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1974.

The same study, based on individual income tax returns of males for the years 1965 to 1968, showed that migrants on average, particularly low-income migrants, obtained higher percentage increases in their incomes than did non-migrants. A further analysis of those covered by unemployment insurance showed that a high proportion of increased income was due to increases in the number of weeks worked, while growth in weekly wages was relatively unimportant.

3.8 The Migration of the Unemployed Compared with the Employed

As indicated, out-migration tends to be positively related to the provincial unemployment situation, and negatively related to that in the receiving provinces, though the relationship is not perfect.

Significant differences seem to exist between mobility rates of employed and unemployed persons.^{1/} Based on unemployment insurance data, the mobility rates for interprovincial moves were 1.0 and 1.5 per cent respectively for employed and unemployed persons.^{2/} This, however, should not be interpreted to mean

^{1/} Mobility rates are defined as the total number of persons who moved as a percentage of the total number of persons in the underlying population.

^{2/} John Vanderkamp, Mobility Behaviour in the Canadian Labour Force, Economic Council of Canada, Special Study, No. 16, p. 24.

that mobility will rise with an increase in the general unemployment level. In fact, available evidence indicates that, if anything, mobility rates tend to decline with a rise in unemployment, and rise with a decline in unemployment.¹

For an unemployed person the cost of moving in terms of earnings is zero so that the returns from migration will be substantial. On the other hand, it may be argued that the potential migrant, if unemployed, may lack resources to finance the move.

3.9 Return Migration is Important

It is estimated that in recent years approximately 20 per cent of interprovincial out-migrants have tended to return to the provinces that they originally left.² In some cases, it appears that return migrants become worse off, in terms of income earned, than they would have been if they had not moved in the first place.

3.10 Mobility is Influenced by Direct Moving Expenses

The direct cost of the move can affect mobility, particularly where long-distance moves are concerned. If the move involves household goods and furniture, costs are considerably increased and the cost of

¹ John Vanderkamp, Op. Cit., p. 39

² John Vanderkamp, Op. Cit., pp. 40-41
T. Courchene, Op. Cit., Chapter 5.

liquidating assets, such as a house or a farm, may act as a further deterrent to mobility. In areas where there is considerable out-migration, it may be impossible to sell assets without incurring financial loss. Mobility among older people who are more likely to own property and household goods may be restricted because of the costs, which may not be the case for the young.

3.11 House Ownership may be a Deterrent to Mobility

Housing can be an important factor in decisions to move. The majority of short-distance moves (intra-urban) are influenced by this factor. The cost of selling a house and buying in another area where housing costs may be considerably higher, may discourage mobility.

3.12 Cities May Offer Advantages that Attract Migrants

Urban environment with better (or different) facilities available - stores, services, recreation and a different atmosphere - may act as an attraction for some people. It may also be the type of environment from which some people wish to escape, although these people will quite often locate fairly close to urban centres so that the services and facilities are still accessible.

3.13 Language and Culture Act as Deterrent to Mobility

Language and culture may also discourage migration from, or to, areas with different languages and culture. This is apparent from the lower migration rates for Québec. It may also be found in areas where groups of immigrants of the same origin have settled, using their own language and maintaining some of their original cultural organizations.

3.14 Climatic Conditions and Geographic Location Affect Migration

Climate and location may have an effect on the destination of migrants. The choice may depend on a preference for a certain type of climate (e.g., warmer) or for a certain type of location (e.g., near the sea). In some cases this may be the sole reason for the decision to move as evidenced by the migration of retired people to the more moderate climate of British Columbia.

3.15 Desire for Proximity to Family and Friends Influences the Mobility Decision

Previous migration of family and friends may encourage other family members to migrate; conversely, the desire to remain close to family and friends may have a strong influence on decisions not to move.

3.16 International Migration is Influenced by Political Factors as Well as Other Factors

International migration is subject to the same causal factors as internal migration, but with political factors as a possible cause for leaving a country, other political factors such as immigration regulations can influence the choice of final location, depending on which country will accept a person as an immigrant.

The preferred choices of many post-war migrants have been the United States and Canada, with the majority of immigrants being of European descent.

More recently, there have been other distinct flows of migration. One of these has been the movement of persons from former British and French colonies to Britain and France. The other flow has been the result of the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC) with very large migration flows within the community, and particularly towards Germany. The flow of Europeans to North America has declined during this period. Unemployment rates in Europe have, in fact, been much lower than in Canada or the U.S.; this change in the direction of migration may be the result of economic forces as well as the reduction of international barriers.

Although the flow of migrants from Europe has been declining, there has been a greater demand from developing countries for immigration opportunities.

This demand for access to Canada is partly due to more limited choices available to those wishing to emigrate since more restrictive policies have been adopted by many nations that traditionally have received migrants, such as Australia and New Zealand, Britain and other EEC countries.

4. MIGRATION AND METROPOLITAN GROWTH

Certain recent data are available that permit an analysis of the relationship between migration and metropolitan growth. These data are based on information from the Department of National Revenue which refers to migration as movements among counties and census divisions. Metropolitan areas are therefore defined in terms of counties and census divisions to correspond as closely as possible to Census Metropolitan Areas.

Although substantial populations are included in these definitions, it should be noted that a good deal of surrounding urban sprawl area nevertheless may have been left out, as will be revealed.

The predominance of the three metropolises, Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, is evident. In 1971, they accounted for 12.7, 12.2 and 5.0 per cent respectively of the Canadian population. As Table 7 indicates, these three cities have absorbed 60 per cent of total net migration (internal and foreign) during the period 1966-1971. However, Montréal alone absorbed only nine per cent of all net migrants, while the smaller cities of Calgary and Ottawa absorbed eight and seven per cent respectively, which is more than one would expect from their relative sizes.

In terms of internal migration alone, it is surprising to discover that 4.3 million persons moved between 1966-1971 into or out of 22 major urban centres. This amounts to approximately one out of every five inhabitants in Canada.

TABLE 7

IN-MIGRANTS, OUT-MIGRANTS AND NET MIGRANTS, 22 METROPOLITAN AREAS
TOTAL 1966-1971

- 54 -

Metropolitan Areas	Total ** In-Migrant (1)	Total *** Out-Migrants (2)	Total **** Net Migrants (3)	In-Migrants (4)	Out-Migrants (5)	Net Migrants (6)	Foreign Net Migrants (7)
Calgary	176,600	125,400	+51,200	148,900	114,000	+34,900	+16,400
Chicoutimi	24,900	31,000	-6,400	24,100	30,500	-6,400	12,500
Edmonton	178,100	139,200	+38,900	152,500	130,200	+22,300	+16,600
Halifax	59,600	56,600	+3,000	52,900	53,600	-700	+3,700
Halton	56,000	32,200	+23,800	49,600	29,500	+20,100	+3,700
Hamilton	112,700	104,800	+7,900	81,100	94,100	-13,000	+20,900
Kitchener	78,500	55,100	+23,400	60,200	50,900	+9,300	+14,100
London	97,000	73,800	+23,200	77,000	67,500	+9,500	+13,700
Montreal	404,300	346,500	+57,800	277,300	307,600	-30,300	+88,100
Ottawa-Hull	154,800	110,600	+44,200	124,500	98,200	+26,300	+17,900
Quebec	90,100	67,200	+22,900	83,900	64,200	+19,700	+3,200
Regina	59,100	65,800	-6,700	55,200	63,800	-8,600	+1,900
Saskatoon	73,000	74,100	-1,100	68,300	71,300	-3,000	+1,900
St.Catherines-							
Niagara	68,200	58,900	+9,300	55,600	53,000	+2,600	+6,700
Saint John	20,100	23,000	-2,900	18,400	22,100	-3,700	+800
St. John's	30,200	31,400	-1,200	27,600	30,200	-2,600	+1,400
Sudbury	61,400	47,600	+13,800	56,200	46,000	+10,200	+3,600
Thunder Bay	32,000	35,000	-3,000	27,900	33,500	-5,600	+2,600
Toronto	671,500	465,900	+205,600	346,900	391,800	-44,900	+250,500
Vancouver	351,300	218,400	+132,900	267,200	191,200	+76,000	+56,900
Windsor	49,700	40,100	+9,600	33,800	31,700	+2,100	+7,500
Winnipeg	139,800	130,200	+9,600	109,600	121,500	-11,900	21,500

* Aggregations of counties and census divisions to correspond as closely as possible to Census Metropolitan Areas.

** Includes international immigration.

*** Includes international emigration.

**** Includes international net migration.

Source: Special Tabulations by Statistics Canada based on Department of National Revenue Information.

4.1 Net Internal Migration Negative for Many Cities

A number of metropolitan areas were net losers of population through internal migration, although they showed overall growth because of natural increase and foreign migration. This is true of the metropolises Toronto and Montréal, which saw their internal-migration rates decline over the period 1956-1961 from 0.5 and 2.3 to -1.8 and -1.1 per cent respectively for the years 1966-1971.¹ In absolute numbers, Toronto's net migration was -44,900 and Montréal's -30,200 during the latter period. In Hamilton, St. John's and Winnipeg, internal migration went from positive in 1956-1961 to negative in 1966-1971; Halifax and Windsor continued a negative migration pattern. Finally, Calgary, Edmonton, Kitchener, London, Ottawa, Québec and Vancouver experienced positive in-migration during both periods. All urban centres, except Vancouver, Québec City and Sudbury have generally experienced a declining net migration rate.

4.2 Fluctuations in Net Migration

When net internal migration is viewed for each year from 1966 to 1971, the rate of migration varies strongly from one city to another.

¹ For 1956-61 figures see Leroy Stone, Migration in Canada, Regional Aspects, 1961 Census Monograph; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1969, Table 4.5, p. 115. 1966-71 migration rates derived from data in Table 7.

It is difficult to derive a unique pattern of fluctuations for all cities. Nevertheless, it is possible to classify the net migration rates into four categories. The first category includes cities whose net migration rates were quite consistently negative -- Toronto, St. John, St. John's, Chicoutimi, Hamilton, Regina and Winnipeg. The second group -- Montréal, London, St. Catharines, Windsor and Saskatoon -- showed a declining trend in their net migration rates. Montréal went from positive to negative. A third category -- Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa and Kitchener -- experienced consistent net positive gains, but without any discernable trend. Finally, a fourth group of cities, comprising Halton, Thunder Bay, Québec City, Sudbury and Halifax saw (slightly) positive and increasing net migration rates.

The attraction of a city does not automatically imply ability to retain its migrants. Toronto and Montréal attracted 346,000 and 277,000 internal migrants respectively between 1966 and 1971. At the same time, however, Toronto lost 392,000 and Montréal 308,000 internal out-migrants. These metropolises have displayed ability to attract but inability to retain internal migrants, although in-migrants and out-migrants are not necessarily the same individuals. On the other hand, these two cities were able both to attract and to retain large numbers of foreign immigrants.

Calgary, Edmonton, Kitchener, London, Ottawa-Hull, Vancouver and Windsor demonstrated their ability to attract and retain internal

and foreign migrants, while Saskatoon, St. John's, Regina, Thunder Bay, Saint John and Chicoutimi had both negative internal and foreign net migration, demonstrating an inability to hold immigrants.

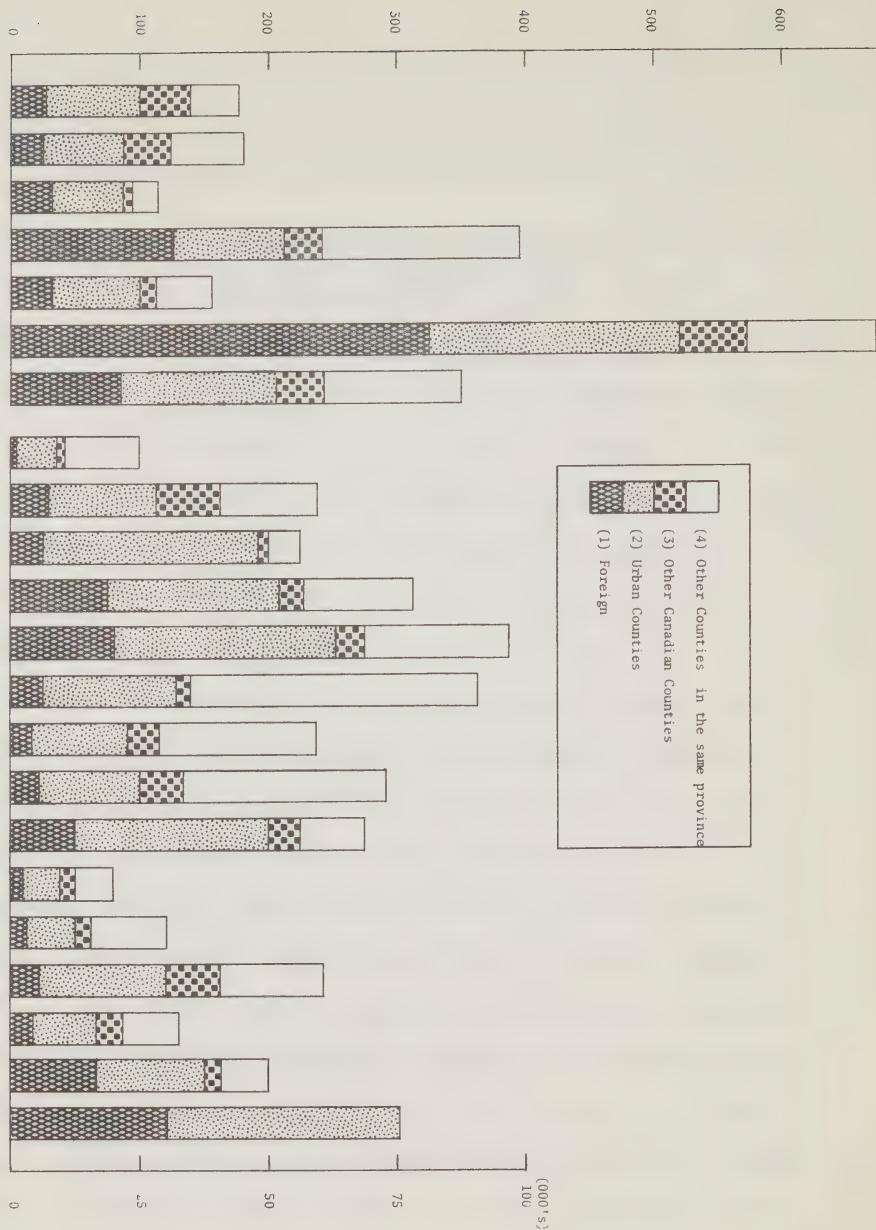
4.3 Origin of In-Migrants is Related to the Size of Metropolitan Areas

Four sources of in-migrants to Census Metropolitan Areas can be delineated:

1. abroad;
2. other urban counties;
3. other, non-urban counties in the same province;
4. non-urban counties in other provinces.

Chart 3 shows the importance of each of these origins to total (not net) in-migrants to the key metropolitan areas. With some exceptions, the importance of the different migrant origins can be associated with the population size of the various metropolitan areas.

At a first stage, the smaller urban areas with 100,000 to 150,000 inhabitants generally attract their in-migrants from other, non-urban counties in the same province. The second stage occurs once they have reached a size of around 300,000; then the urban centres draw their migrants predominantly from other urban areas. When metropolitan areas have surpassed this size, at a third stage they generally begin to attract an appreciable number of foreign immigrants in addition to



Source: Special Tabulations by Statistics Canada based on Department of National Revenue Information.

attracting internal migrants from other urban areas; the three main metropolises exhibit different patterns of in-migration. Toronto's flow is dominated by foreign immigrants, Montréal's by migrants from other non-urban counties in Québec, and Vancouver's by migrants from other urban areas.

It may be concluded that the tendency shown in the 1961 Census of migrants from urban regions to gravitate toward other urban areas, has been accentuated even more during the period 1966-1971.

4.4 Polarization of Internal In-Migration Across Three Blocks

Toronto-Montréal is the most important inter-urban in-migration block.

The second inter-urban in-migration block is in the West with a main network of strong inter-urban migration between Vancouver, Edmonton, and Calgary.

The third block is in the East. Due to the absence of a metropolis, there is no strong inter-urban in-migration inside this block. Consequently, each component of this block generates a direct migratory flow towards the first two blocks.

4.5 Out-Migration Network

The majority of the urban centres are part of the same mobility network for out-migration and in-migration; the attraction between urban centres in general is reciprocal. Exceptions to this rule are Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Hamilton and Montréal. These cities are characterized by a weak attraction in relation to other urban centres.

4.6 Predominance in Number of Male Migrants

In general, the number of male migrants exceeds the number of female migrants; however, exceptions do exist. Halifax, London, Ottawa and Québec have received and lost as many males as females, which leads to the assumption that the migrant flows mainly consist of families. Furthermore, in the case of Saint John, St. John's, Toronto and Winnipeg, more males than females have entered, while approximately an equal number of males and females have migrated out. The presumption, therefore, is that more married couples have moved out of these urban centres than into them. This is supported by the observation that in-migrants to these cities tend to be concentrated in the age group 16 to 24 years, while the 25 to 44 year olds dominate out-migration.

4.7 Age Profile of Migrants

The percentage distribution of urban migrants according to major age categories shows approximately one-third of both in- and out-migrants to be between 24 and 44 years of age. Slightly less than 30 per cent are found in the two age groups 16 to 34 years and 0 to 15 years, while between 10 to 15 per cent are over 45 years of age. Thus, as one would expect, migrants both into and out of urban areas are predominantly young.

4.8 A Closer Look at Toronto and Montréal¹

It has been mentioned that a number of metropolitan areas experienced a net loss of internal migrants to other cities in Canada over the period 1966-1971, most notably Toronto and Montréal (see Table 7).

To explain this somewhat surprising occurrence, it might be argued that Census Metropolitan Areas perhaps do not adequately reflect the "greater city areas" in question and that, in fact, a great many surrounding suburban or satellite communities are left out. This hypothesis will be examined, particularly for Toronto.

¹ The reader is cautioned against assigning unwarranted accuracy to the unrounded figures used in this section. The intention is to describe general tendencies only, as the statistical error increases with greater disaggregation of the data.

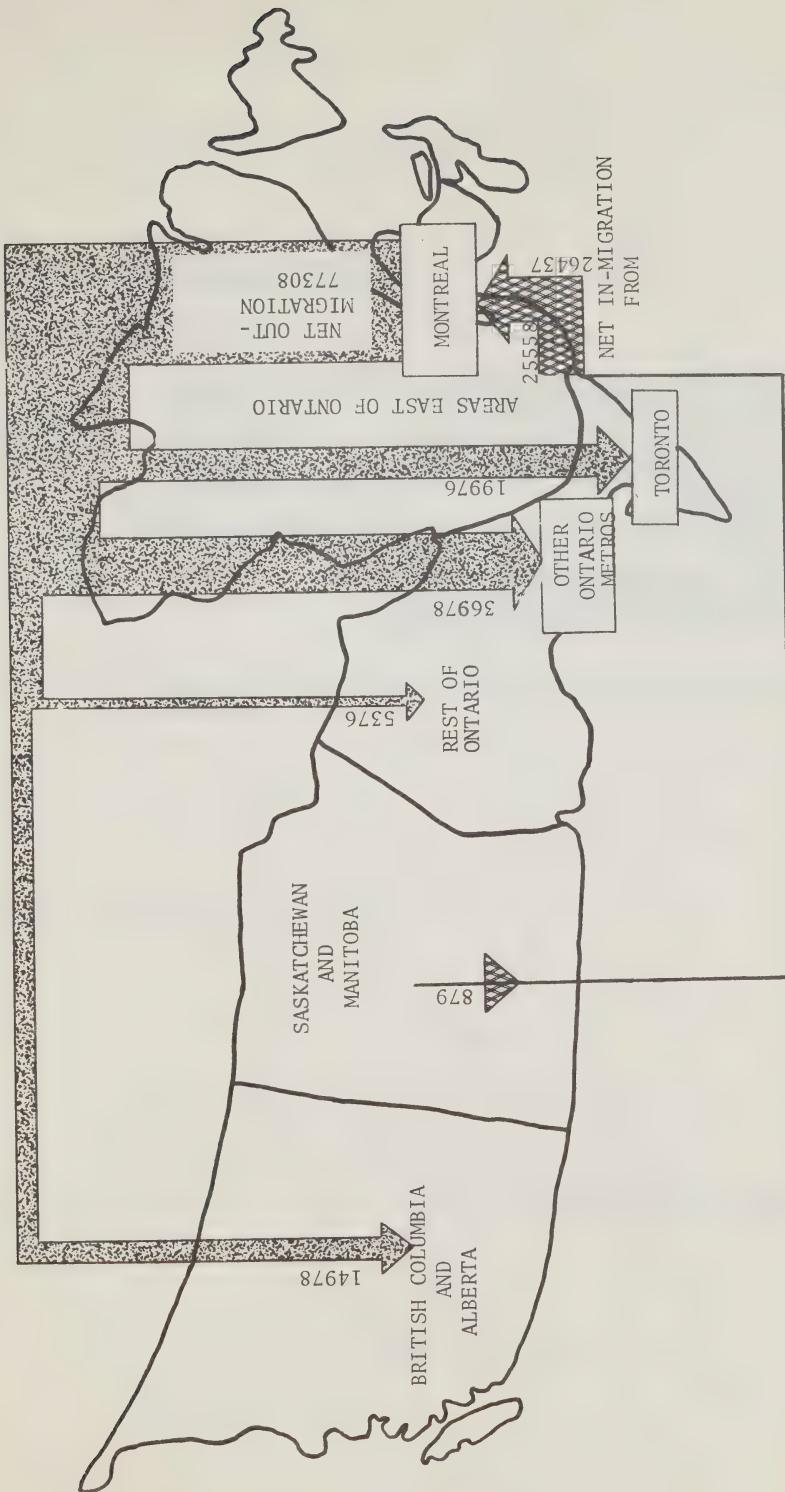
It should be emphasized that these metropolitan regions as defined are fast growing and are not by any means stagnating. Thus, the five year period covered in Table 7 saw Toronto's population increase by over 12 per cent, Montréal's by almost seven per cent, and Vancouver's population by more than 16 per cent. The population for Montréal in 1972 was 2.76 million, Toronto 2.67 million, and Vancouver 1.1 million. Very substantial areas of population are, therefore, included in these definitions of metropolitan areas. (See Appendix A for a more detailed discussion of these definitions.)

4.8.1 Differences in Toronto's and Montréal's Experiences

Using data from the Department of National Revenue makes it possible to analyze in greater detail the internal migration flows of Toronto and Montréal (see Charts 4 and 5).

It is immediately obvious that although both Montréal and Toronto lost population for the period 1966 to 1971 due to internal migration, their experiences were nevertheless quite different. The net outflows from Montréal were to areas other than Québec (primarily to Toronto), other metropolitan areas in Ontario, and the two far west provinces; the net inflow to Montréal came from the combined region east

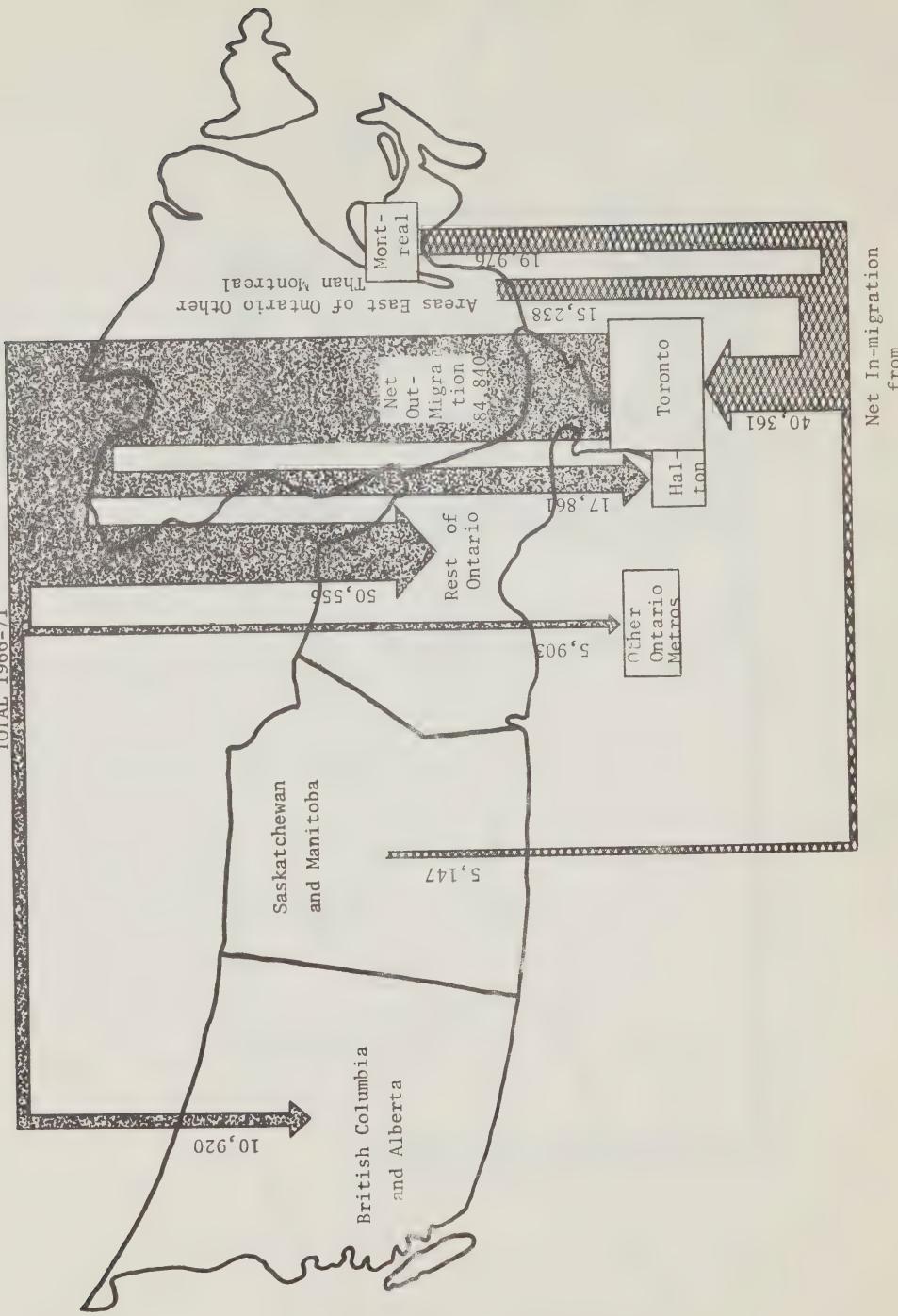
CHART 4
NET INTERNAL MIGRATION FLOWS BETWEEN MONTREAL
AND THE REST OF CANADA
TOTAL 1966-71



Source: Statistics Canada, Tabulations based on Department of National Revenue Data.

CHART 5
NET INTERNAL MIGRATION FLOWS BETWEEN TORONTO
AND THE REST OF CANADA

TOTAL 1966-71



Source: Statistics Canada, Tabulations based on Department of National Revenue Data.

of Ontario.¹ The net outflow from Toronto to the rest of Ontario (excluding other metropolitan areas) was no less than 51,000; the flow to other Ontario metropolitan areas was about 24,000, and to British Columbia and Alberta was almost 11,000. The main net inflows originated from the area east of Ontario, mainly from Montréal.

Thus the out-migrants from Montréal tended to leave the province, while the out-migrants from Toronto settled primarily in other regions of Ontario. The hypothesis that a metropolitan area tends to shoot off satellite communities may have validity for Toronto. If so, one would expect the out-migrants from the city to move to areas immediately adjacent to the metropolitan area.

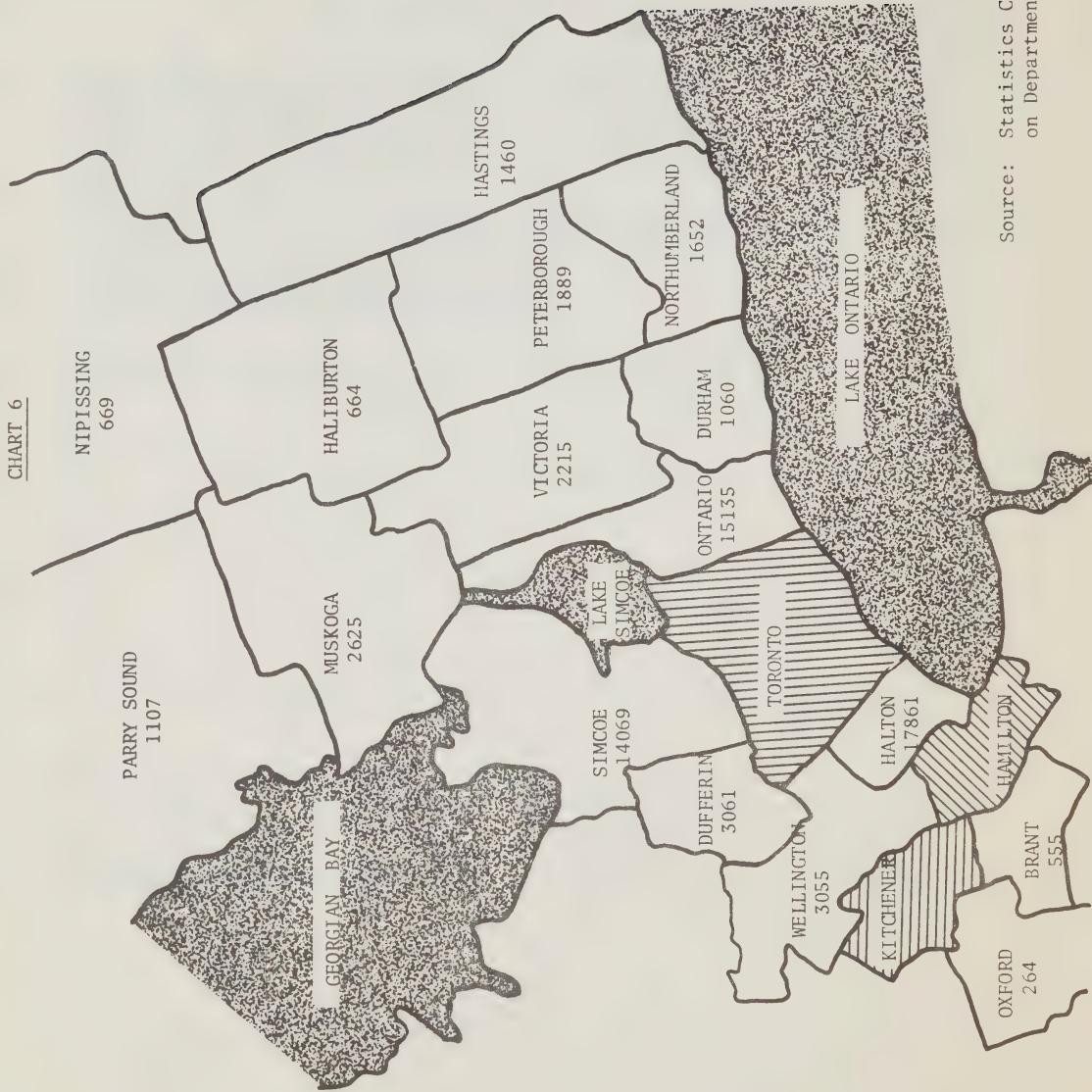
Chart 6 shows this is precisely what has happened in Toronto. The contiguous counties of Ontario, Simcoe, Dufferin and Wellington absorbed the majority of net migrants from Toronto to other non-metropolitan counties in Ontario, 35,320 to be exact, or in excess of 53,000 if Halton county is included.²

¹ The net inflow from the rest of the province of Québec amounted to about 18,000.

² About 1/3 of Halton county is part of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area. Another third is counted as Hamilton CMA while the remainder of the county is non-metropolitan. The county is shown separately in part because the data do not permit a breakdown into the respective CMA components, and in part due to the heavy net immigration from the Toronto CMA counties.

NET OUT-MIGRATION FROM TORONTO TO SURROUNDING COUNTIES, 1966-1971

CHART 6



4.8.2 Foreign Migrants To Counties Surrounding Toronto

One may ask whether foreign immigrants to the Toronto region followed a settlement pattern similar to the net internal migrant flow. The Department of National Revenue data base shows that there was some net foreign inflow to the counties adjacent to Toronto. Thus, as Table 8 demonstrates, the population of the counties Dufferin, Ontario and Simcoe together were augmented by close to 8,000 foreign immigrants between 1966-67 to 1970-71, or by about 12,000 if Halton is included. However, this is only a small fraction of the 250,000 net foreign immigrants who came to Toronto during the same period or the 50,000 net internal migrants who moved from the Toronto metropolitan area to Dufferin, Halton, Ontario and Simcoe counties.

Table 8

Destination	Total Net Migration	1966-67 to 1970-71
	Net Immigrants from Abroad to	Net Internal Migrants from Toronto to
Toronto	250,452	
Dufferin	255	3,061
Ontario	4,851	15,135
Simcoe	2,585	14,069
Halton	4,752	17,861

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Tabulations Based on Department of National Revenue Data.

4.8.3 Age Composition of Migrants To and From Toronto

Although net migration to or from a region determines the demographic impact on that region, it should be recalled that this net flow is the outcome of much larger gross in-flows and out-flows to the region. For example, the net flow of 14,069 internal migrants between Toronto and Simcoe during 1966-67 to 1970-71 was the result of 28,143 moving from Toronto to Simcoe and 14,074 moving in the opposite direction. Similarly the 250,000 net foreign migrants resulted from an estimated 324,000 immigrants coming to Toronto from abroad and 74,000 going abroad from Toronto.

The question, therefore, arises whether Toronto's gross migrant inflows and gross migrant outflows differed in some important respect, such as age composition. There is at least a presumption that internal migrants moving from Toronto to the "suburban sprawl area" tend to be more entrenched and advanced in their jobs and therefore older than the migrants moving from these surrounding areas into Toronto. Foreign immigrants coming to Toronto are younger than the emigrants leaving Toronto to go abroad (see Table 9 which shows the per cent distribution by age of various gross migrant flows).

Less than 20 per cent of the migrants moving from Toronto to the surrounding counties were in the 16-24 age group; 30 per cent of migrants moving from these counties to Toronto were to be found in the 16-24 age group. In addition, a greater percentage of those moving to the surrounding sprawl area were in the youngest age group (0-15) than was the case with the flow in the opposite direction. From this it may be inferred that established families with children comprised a greater proportion of migrants leaving Toronto than those moving into the city.

A similar pattern holds for foreign migrants in that arriving foreign migrants were younger and had fewer dependent children than those persons leaving Toronto to go abroad.

People moving from Montréal to Toronto were older than the migrants coming to Toronto from the "surrounding sprawl area" and from abroad.

TABLE 9

Per Cent Distribution by Age of Various Gross Migrant Flows, Both Sexes, 1966/67-1970/71*

Direction of Flow \ Age Groups	0-15	16-24	25-44	45-64	65 +
Toronto to Simcoe County Simcoe County to Toronto	28.6 24.7	19.3 32.3	28.7 25.7	15.1 10.2	8.4 7.1
Toronto to Ontario County Ontario County to Toronto	32.6 27.9	18.4 26.5	35.1 30.0	8.8 9.6	5.1 6.0
Toronto to Dufferin County Dufferin County to Toronto	32.4 28.2	17.4 28.2	32.4 26.1	11.2 10.9	6.6 6.6
Toronto to Halton County Halton County to Toronto	32.5 27.2	16.7 26.2	38.1 30.2	8.3 10.3	4.4 6.1
Toronto to Abroad Abroad to Toronto	25.3 23.3	17.2 28.3	43.2 39.1	8.2 6.8	6.1 2.5
Toronto to Montreal Montreal to Toronto	27.8 26.9	20.5 20.1	38.7 36.5	7.2 10.1	5.8 6.4

* Disaggregation of the migration data by age will in some instances result in relatively high statistical errors.

Source: Statistics Canada; Tabulating based on Department of National Revenue data.

4.8.4 Importance of Immigrants to Growth of Cities

Up to this point the analysis of metropolitan area growth has been carried out exclusively with data based on Department of National Revenue information which allows a fairly detailed disaggregation of migration data.

It is of interest to note, however, that one of the patterns (foreign migration as an important contributor to recent city growth) is also apparent from census data.

Table 10 presents a measure of the contribution to metropolitan area growth, most notably in Toronto of the foreign born who immigrated between 1961 and 1971.¹

¹ The role of immigration in city growth may appear somewhat lower in terms of census data than might have been expected from the estimates based on Department of National Revenue Information. However, the two data sources are not strictly comparable. For example, census figures for immigrants residing in metropolitan areas in 1971 exclude those who arrived in the areas between 1961 and 1971 but later migrated to other places in Canada, as well as returning nationals. Both of these groups are included in the DNR immigrant data. Furthermore, immigration to Canada was much lower during the first than during the second half of the intercensal period. Therefore, the relative importance of immigrants will show up as being greater for the years 1966-1971 (to which the DNR based data refer) than for the entire intercensal period 1961-1971.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF FOREIGN BORN LIVING IN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA WHO IMMIGRATED IN THE PERIOD 1961-71 AS A PER CENT OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA POPULATION INCREASE BETWEEN 1961 AND 1971

	%
Calgary	21
Edmonton	16
Halifax	16
Hamilton	38
Kitchener	28
London	18
Montreal	26
Ottawa/Hull	16
Quebec	4
St. John	13
St. John's	5
Sudbury	11
Toronto	46
Vancouver	30
Victoria	21
Windsor	40
Winnipeg	43

SOURCE: Census of Canada 1961 and 1971

5. REGIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF PROJECTED FUTURE MIGRATION

Up to this point the discussion of migration has been about actual experiences from which future inferences may be made.

Estimates of future patterns can also be more formally made by econometric projections. The present section discusses briefly the outcome of one such experimental projection.^{1/}

5.1 Assumptions Used in the Projection

The population effects of various migration projections were explained by means of the regionalized demographic blocks of the CANDIDE econometric model.^{2/} One of these projections has been selected as representing a likely view of the future, and its main results are summarized in Table 11. In this particular exercise, the regional fertility rates have been set, for the time frame 1985-1996, at 2.0 children per female over the child-bearing age; the interim values have been interpolated from their last observed value to the common target value for 1985. The Canadian net immigration rate has been kept constant at 0.35 per thousand throughout the forecast period, and the regional distribution of immigration as well as internal migration, has been assumed to remain unchanged from the observed value averaged over the period 1961 to 1971.

1/ It must, of course, be emphasized that projections based on other assumptions are both possible and plausible, and that the projections which follow do not in any sense represent a forecast.

2/ A model that simulates in mathematical terms various sectors of the Canadian economy.

POPULATION PROJECTION BY REGIONS FOR 1996

TABLE 11

	Population to 1996		Components of the Change 1966-1996		
	(000) of Persons	%	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Total
			Internal	External	
Atlantic	2,249	8.0	541	-330	62
Québec	7,536	26.7	1,443	-176	448
Ontario	10,860	38.8	2,165	389	1,345
Prairies	4,050	14.3	880	-499	287
British Columbia	3,474	12.3	676	616	308
Canada	28,270*	100.0	5,769*	0	2,486*
					8,255*

* Total differs marginally due to inclusion of Yukon and N.W.T.

5.2 Results of the Projections

If the values assumed in this projection turn out to be correct, the following would be the results:

- (i) Migration would be the main source of differences in the regional population growth; generally speaking, the larger the migration flows the greater the regional differences. Fertility is unlikely to influence markedly the comparative pattern of regional population growth.
- (ii) The median age of the population would rise toward the end of the century. The flow of immigrants would have virtually no impact on the age structure of the population. Only changes in fertility rates could significantly alter the age structure over a long time period.
- (iii) For a period of time this rise in the median age of the population will be highly favourable to Canada's per capita growth potential, by raising the percentage of the population of labour force age, and lowering the dependency ratio. Subsequently, labour force growth will slacken. Unless the trend in fertility rates is reversed, the dependency ratio of the population will rise markedly after 1990.

APPENDIX A

Definition of Metropolitan Areas

A major portion of this report refers to migration involving metropolitan areas. The data underlying the examination are based on information obtained from Department of National Revenue files which refer to population movements between counties or census divisions, not to metropolitan areas. This report therefore uses groups of counties (census divisions) to construct areas with boundaries corresponding as closely as possible to the boundaries of metropolitan areas as defined by the Census.

One of the problems involved in this approach is that a county or census division may encompass an area vastly larger than the relevant metropolitan area to which it should correspond. The most notable of these is Victoria, part of British Columbia's census division 5 which covers all of Vancouver Island, making it impossible to arrive at an acceptable census division counterpart for this city.

Another problem arises when only part of a county (census division) is included in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). This is true of Halton county, of which one part is included in the Toronto CMA and another in the Hamilton CMA.

Following is a list of the metropolitan areas used in this study and the counties (census division) as defined.

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>METROPOLITAN AREA</u>	<u>COUNTIES</u>
Newfoundland:	St. John's	- Newfoundland Division 1.
Nova Scotia:	Halifax	- Halifax
New Brunswick:	St. John	- Aggregate of St. John and King's.
Quebec:	Chicoutimi	- Chicoutimi
	Montréal	- Aggregate of Montréal and Île Jésus Chambly, Châteauguay, Deux-Montagnes, Laprairie, L'Assomption, Rouville, Vaudreuil, Verchères,
	Québec	- Aggregate of Québec and Lévis.
Ontario:	Hamilton	- Wentworth
	Halton*	- Halton
	Kitchener	- Waterloo
	London	- Aggregate of Middlesex and Elgin
	St. Catharines - Niagara	- Niagara

* Shown as separate metropolitan area due to the problems described in this appendix.

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>METROPOLITAN AREA</u>	<u>COUNTIES</u>
	Sudbury	- Sudbury
	Thunder Bay	- Thunder Bay
	Toronto	- Aggregate of York and Peel
	Windsor	- Essex
Manitoba:	Winnipeg	- Manitoba Division 20
Saskatchewan:	Regina	- Saskatchewan Division 11
Alberta:	Calgary	- Alberta Division 6
	Edmonton	- Alberta Division 11
British Columbia:	Vancouver	- B.C. Division 4

Toronto Metropolitan Area

Since the Toronto metropolitan area is prominent in this report, it is of interest to compare this area, as defined in terms of counties, with the Census Metropolitan Area definition. Based on Census data, the following table makes this comparison for 1971.

COMPONENTS OF TORONTO METROPOLITAN AREA

(1971 Census Population)

Counties in Area	Part of County Population			Total County Population
	Included in Toronto Census Metrop.Area	Not included in Toronto Census Metrop.Area		
York*	2,227,639	24,438		2,252,077
Halton	100,001	90,468		190,469
Ontario	46,786	149,471		196,257
Peel	253,617	5,785		259,402
Total, All 4 counties	2,628,043	270,162		2,898,205
(Total York & Peel)	(2,481,256)	(30,223)		(2,511,479)

The Toronto Census Metropolitan Area straddles four counties.¹

Of these four, York and Peel are included almost in their entirety while only about one half of Halton county's population and one quarter of Ontario county's are included in the Census definition of the Toronto Metropolitan Area.

* Former York County now has been divided into Toronto Metropolitan Municipality (previously Toronto Metropolitan Corporation) and York Regional Municipality.

¹ According to the 1971 Census a metropolitan area is defined as the main labour market of a continuously built-up area having a population of 100,000 and over. For a detailed definition see Directory of Census Terms, Cat. No. 12-540.

Since it is not possible to disaggregate the Department of National Revenue based migration data below the county level, the decision was made to exclude Halton and Ontario counties from the definition of metropolitan Toronto.¹

However, as the table demonstrates, the error is relatively minor in terms of total metropolitan population. Thus, the Toronto Metropolitan Area definition used in connection with the Department of National Revenue data would include about 30,000 persons in York and Peel counties not counted in the Census Metropolitan definition and would exclude some 147,000 in the Halton and Ontario counties, which are part of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area.

Halton and Ontario counties are small compared to the size of Toronto. However, according to migration statistics from Department of National Revenue data, the net migration flow from the Toronto Metropolitan Area (York and Peel counties) to Halton county totaled almost 18,000 between 1966 and 1971. At the same time, the net flow to Ontario county was slightly over 15,000.

Thus, a large proportion of the net internal out-migration from Toronto to surrounding counties may have been mobility within the Census Metropolitan Area. If so, this movement was from the center to the fringes of the area.

¹ Most of Halton county population not counted in the Toronto CMA is part of Hamilton CMA.

However, even if the flows to these two counties are not considered, there was a sizeable amount of net migration from Toronto (defined as the agglomeration of York and Peel) to other adjacent counties, most notably to Simcoe (14,000), but also to Wellington (3,000), Dufferin (3,000), Muskoka (2,600), and Victoria (2,200).

It can therefore be concluded that a substantial net internal out-migration from Metro Toronto occurred for each definition of the metropolitan area.



